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ABSTRACT

The United States lacks uniform popular definitions of "literacy," remediations, or consensus for national standards. Factors beyond the control of educational and political structures continually modify and dominate discussions of illiteracy and strategies of remediation. In most advanced cultures, alienation and functional illiteracy are probably pervasive among subcultural groups and individuals. Culturally based definitions of illiteracy and functional illiteracy should be accepted. Mainstream research on Maslowian, Piagetian, and deterministic issues has not been pertinent to the problems of illiteracy. The campaign to abolish illiteracy in the Mojave Desert of California centers on three separate projects, each with similar motives but differing approaches. The largest effort has been the Basic Skills Education Program of the Army. An initial program screens personnel and provides up to 52 hours of instruction in math, English, and writing skills. The second program is the Early Literacy Intervention Program being phased in by the Morongo Unified School District. Children with basic literacy skills deficiencies in grades K-12 are identified and receive individualized or small group instruction. The third program is the Morongo Basic Coalition for Adult Literacy. Central issues of illiteracy and functional illiteracy remain to pose challenges: no true working definitions, true illiterate people who are not being reached, and the challenge to find a method to educate this population. (Contains 339 references.) (YLB)

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TREATING ILLITERACY IN THE HIGH DESERT OF CALIFORNIA: A PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH

A Paper Presented to the

Sixth Annual Midwest Regional
Reading & Study Skills Conference

Sponsored by Wichita State University

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by

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ABSTRACT

International scope of illiteracy, functional illiteracy, and literacy surveyed, with culturally based definitions of illiteracy and functional illiteracy posed. Lack of pertinency of mainstream research on Maslowian, Piagetian and deterministic issues to problems of illiteracy discussed. Three programs that are effectively dealing with illiteracy in the Mojave Desert region of California discussed: Military Basic Skills Education, Early Literacy Intervention by a school district, and a volunteer program. These programs have remediated over fifty-five thousand individuals in the past ten years.

TREATING ILLITERACY IN THE HIGH DESERT OF CALIFORNIA
A PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH
FROM MACROCOSM TO MICROCOSM

In the United States, and most contemporary cultures, "literacy" is defined as the ability to read and write (Beder, 1991) (Cervero, 1985) (Lane, McGuire, Yeannakis, and Wurzbacher, 1984) (Salter and Salter, 1991). With nationwide patterns of mobility, immigration, and dispersion of immigrant and refugee populations; underlying psychosocial factors are such this definition lacks specificity (McCarthy, 1990) (Steinberg, Lyon, and Vaiana, 1992) (Urrea, 1992), etc. In California, for example, about 200 languages and dialects require a more precise definition, and specification of ability to read and write in English is used. Varying arguments or philosophies aside (Oakes, 1985) (Simon, 1987), this is probably a necessary decision for preservation of a successful, dominant culture (James, 1990) (Josefowitz, 1980) (Vygotsky, 1978); to assure continuance of desired heritages (Applebee, Langer, and Mullis, 1986); and international leadership (Applebee, A.N., Langer, and Mullis, 1987a) (National Assessment of Eductional Programs, 1986) (Venezky, Kaestle, and Sum, 1987) (Wattenberg, 1987).

This rationale, and bias toward one official language, seems to be a deep seated, fundamental action of a culture, and has existed throughout recorded history; whether driven by custom, commerce, or culture (Apple, 1988) (Mare, 1981) (Mikulecky and Diehl, 1980) (Walsh, 1991). It may be critical in any large, industrial economy (Porter, 1990). The same approach has been generally employed by modern day national literacy campaigns, whether or not the government is considered a world power (Arnove and Graff, 1987) (Azrab, 1985) (Benseman, 1980) (Cebrian-Abellan, 1987) (Chalom, 1985) (Goffinet and Van Damme, 1990), etc. However, the mastery of the official state language, or even of a written language, may not determine "literacy." In some contemporary cultures, oral communications are sufficient (Aboyade, 1981) (Aggarwal, 1989), while great civilizations of the past have come and gone with either a minimum of written records, or with their civilization a matter of speculation, since no written language existed, as in the case of Scythian, Celtic, Scandanavian and others. Arguably, the mastery of English reading, or writing, or even conversation, may not be necessary in large subcultures in the United States (Adult Literacy Initiative, 1986) (Barton and Coley, 1992) (Donald, 1983) (Helmreich, 1986) (Vargas, 1986), etc.

Representative formal definitions of literacy include: a set of skills (Evaluation and Training Institute, 1989), or a decoding process involving literal comprehension, inference, ascetic values and appreciations, flexibilities, etc. (Bormouth, 1975) (Eyster, 1982). It may be considered situational (Fingeret, 1989) (Scribner and Cole, 1981), relativistic (Cervero, 1985), class oriented (Friere and Macedo, 1987) (Friere, 1985), preservationistic (Inglis, 1985), code based (Csikszentminhalyi, 1990), a motivational need (Cross, 1981) (Gans, 1961), a concept rather than an absolute (Okedara, 1981) (Marshall, 1990), societally-based (Friere 1985) (Friere and Macedo, 1987), power driven and conferring or denying (Apple, 1985); or, to exist with no written language (Aboyade, 1981) (McEachern, 1990). Cultural definitions, or tastes, classify the definition; or, an e-VALUE-ation occurs (Bourdieu, 1973) (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977)

(Willinsky, 1990). This creates confusion in both primary and subcultures as to what values of literacy really are (Auerbach, 1989) (Clark, Smith, and Harvey, 1982) (Collins, Brown, and Newman, 1989) (Giroux, 1987) (Kindler, 1988) (Lemasters, 1975) (Pipho, 1988), etc.

The requirement for a clearer definition of literacy involves more than a semantical exercise (Cressy, 1980) (Fingeret, 1984) (Walsh, 1991). Some agreement as to definition, if not a consensus, is more important than it might appear. It is posed that attempts to remedy the "non-presence" of literacy require an understanding of what "presence" is; just as stating a "behavior" exists infers there is a "non-behavior." Perceptions and definitions of "literacy" or "illiteracy" that are clear to the dominant national culture or power establishments would appear a logical necessity to work for change or remediation within its structure (Graff, 1987) (Lind, 1981) (Oberst, 1988) (Solorzano and Baca, 1991) (Vargas, 1986) (Turrittin, 1989). Whether definitions or their logic are clear to, acceptable by, workable in, or compatible with the culture of the "illiterate" populations is another matter (Adult Performance Level Project, 1975) (Berger and Schechter, 1989) (Cervero, 1985) (Charner, 1979) (Goffinet, 1987) (Graff, 1979) (Irish, 1980) (Kirsch and Jungeblut, 1986) (Morstain and Smart, 1974) (Pugsley, 1990) (Williams, 1985) (Yeakey, 1990), ad infinitum. Such confusing interstices produce conflict, certainly internalized, and frequently externalized, at different intensities.

Misconceptions and stereotypes concerning the definitions, findings, and statistics frequently occur; and one remediation program leader recently stated, "all stereotypes are equally false, and they are also equally true" (Henderson 1992a) Examples include reports that link illiteracy with poverty, with the comforting but simplistic premise that, when the "great" society "wins the war on poverty;" crime, substance abuse, illiteracy and other adverse social conditions will somehow be solved. [This is frequently accompanied by calls for taxation on the visibly affluent in the culture, whose success forces confrontation with personal inadequacies by those who have been less successful, or by demagoguery using visible and divisive conditions to seek power positions] (Barber, 1957) (Bell, 1992) (Curtis, 1976) (D'Souza, 1991) (Galbraith, 1958), etc. The premises of cause or cure are seldom completely accurate, but contain sufficient truth, or perception of such, to create turmoil or adversarial conditions (Anderson and Darkenwald, 1979) (Lipton, 1977) (Maharidge and Williamson, 1989) (Taylor, 1992) (Trueba, Spindler, and Spindler, 1989), etc. The "silver bullets," that invariably have been generated by response of the power bases in the culture, accompany literacy campaigns in the early stages, but tend to reduce or disappear as new issues are posed, and do not guarantee success.

It is certain, however, that issues such as illiteracy or functional illiteracy, and the apparent causes or accompaniers of these conditions; must be admitted to exist, addressed, and workable mitigation, if not solutions, be developed to prevent social disintegration (Drucker, 1969) (Leo, 1993) (Mead, 1985) (Mead, 1992) (Molnar, 1967) (Newman, 1988) (Parker, 1972), etc.
Research indicates many psychosocial factors other than class dominance or net worth contribute to problems of illiteracy (one could say ILL-literacy!) (Drucker, 1950) (Darkenwald and Valentine, 1985) (Etzioni and Etzioni, 1964) (Simon and Willinsky, 1980) (Wald, Evans, and Ventresca, 1989). Expert and sound-byte pundit alike agree there are problems, and problems must have causes, if not ready solutions. This may be the only point on which any agreement

exists. For example, the impact of differential treatment by sex, age, etc.; socioeconomic conditions; masked or subtle prejudicial treatment; or the problems of less than ideal school systems; will always have elements of controversy and no shortage of proponents of change, cure or continuance, of whom a few are cited as examples (Blau, 1977) (DiPerna, 1982) (Jencks, 1979) (Kozol, 1991) (Shaw, 1993).

Further, there are little understood processes that develop individual or cultural attitudes that are neutral or negative toward literacy; and remediation efforts are frequently accepted, or rejected, from positions driven by causes, agendas, political correctness [which may be as polite a definition for opportunism as any], or immediacy; rather than by objective research (Garrison, 1985) (Illich, 1987) (Moynihan, 1969) (Pattison, 1982). Over time, such theories and stereotypes can infiltrate popular culture, impact on definition, and solidify prejudices toward other groups (Anti-Defamation League, 1992) (Bernstein, 1971). etc. This may cloud objective attempts to deal with illiteracy as well as offend or disengage the individuals or groups involved (Bourdieu, 1973). Examples include reporting a population as "illiterate," when formal education has been completed (Adult Literacy Initiative, 1986) (Applebee, A.N., Langer, and Mullis, 1987b) (Resnick, 1990) (Salter and Salter, 1991); stating total or very high levels of illiteracy exist within lower class groups, although state and private education programs are reaching school children and adults (Sreedhar, 1987); or discounting literate communication in culturally acceptable languages (Lane, McGuire, Yeannakis, and Wurzbacher, 1984) (Trennert, 1988).

It may be safely posed that the nation lacks uniform popular definitions or remediations, or consensus for national standards (Marshall, Mitchell, and Wirt, 1990). This may be more a blessing than a curse; in fact, researchers warn against "slavish adaptations" (Knapp and Turnbull, 1990) (Knapp, 1991), or ritualized procedures (Koeller, 1988) (Shaw, 1993). When the complexities of just the influences set out so far are considered, it is no surprise that problems of illiteracy, and particularly those of the adult illiterate, defy the best-conceived efforts to develop national strategy (Arnove and Graff, 1987) (Beder, 1979) (Boraks, 1981) (Darkenwald, 1986) (Darkenwald and Larson, 1980) (Knowles, 1978) (National Advisory Council on Adult Literacy, 1986b) (National Association of State Boards of Education, 1986) (Toth, 1991).

Despite all the caveats, it is still necessary to establish "a" beginning; some definition within a context of national priorities and objectives. Therefore the following is posed:

> Illiteracy is the lack of ability to read or write English; as commonly used in the United States of America by the culturally, politically and socio-oeconomically dominant power structures.

This definition should be applied in an a-ethnic, a-political, a-racial, a-religious, a-sexual, etc., context. While this may be a sincere, politically correct, and "good" intent, it should be obvious that nuances of race (Anti-Defamation League, 1992), (Applebee. A.N., Langer, and Mullis, 1988) (Bell, 1992) (Heath, Mangiola, Schecter, and Hull, 1991) (McCarthy, 1990) (Pinderhughes, 1989) etc; ethnicity (Chalom, 1985); geography and regionalism (Childers, 1975); sex or

sexual preference (Barber and Watson, 1990) (Baum, 1992); marital status (McLanahan and Booth, 1989); economic classes (Friere, 1985), etc.; cannot be discounted. They are integral parts of the "real" world of human behavior (Barton and Coley, 1992) (Taylor and Dorsey-Gaines, 1988) (Schnaars, 1989) (Wexler, 1992), etc. Factors beyond the control of educational and political structures continually impact, modify, and dominate dialogues that involve illiteracy and strategies of remediation (Anderson, 1991) (Arnove and Graff, 1987) (Drucker, 1969). Emotionally loaded, culture-group-defined words such as "educated," and "cultured" may be far from specific or culturally acceptable (Illich, 1970); as are such terms as "humane learning" or "intelligentsia," that can attach as dialectic baggage to the formal definition of "literacy" (Cervero, 1985) (Griffith and Cervero, 1977). Their translation may create perceptions, barriers, and reactions far removed from original intent (Green, 1992) (Hayes, 1987) (Hayes, 1988) (Reyhner, 1992) (Rose, 1982).

Given these interactive forces, efforts in adult education, though said to be dealing with "illiteracy," seldom address those totally without reading and writing skills (Boraks, 1981). Total illiterates in a national population are few, and not easy to identify; for deficiencies may be compensated for by a variety of strategies. These strategies may produce a form of "literacy" acceptable and possibly mandatory for acceptance in the subculture (Gueble, 1989). (Rubenstein and Shaver, 1980) Therefore, numerous motivators in social, economic, and other realms impact on understood definitions; and policies to deal with illiteracy (Boshier, 1971) (Boshier and Collins, 1985). By whatever method or strategy used in definition and census, the actual illiterate population is small in most "first world" cultures, and not necessarily large in countries considered "third world" (Arnove and Graff, 1987). The truly illiterate, like the homeless, are powerless, minor players of little significance or overall impact on national planning (Berger, 1974) (Blau, 1977) (Burth and Cohen, 1989). The cost effectiveness of remediation may be called into question (Shaw, 1993), for remediation in terms of cost per student is expensive for what may be seen as insufficient payback. Therefore emphases on remediation campaigns and allocation of national resources are generally directed toward "functional illiteracy," in the name of something entirely different--the actual illiterate (Anderson, 1991). This may permit transfer of stigma to another population while allowing program participants to pass as "functional", and guarantees a measure of success predicated on past campaigns.

As in the case of "illiteracy," "functional illiteracy" requires "a" definition, although consensus may not be possible. (Adult Literacy Initiative, 1986) (Adult Performance Level Project, 1975), (Adult Performance Level Study, 1977) (Association for Community Based Education, 1986) Like literacy, functional literacy is an illusory term. This is exacerbated by multiple definitions, and by cultural interpretations of "function" or "functional" (Adult Literacy and Basic Skills Unit, 1984) (Adult Performance Level Study, 1977) (Fleming, 1982) (Grant, 1992) (Salter and Salter, 1991). Formal definitions, with congruent research of "functional" (literacy), include: professional or official position (Aggarwal, 1989); the action for which one "is fitted" or "exists (Samuelson and Faddis, 1986); a group of related actions contributing to a larger action (Levine, 1987); or contribution of the bodily part to the whole (Turrittin, 1989). This logically leads from individual to corporate in either synergism or struggle (Apple, 1990), (Ogbu, 1978), (Shields, 1990); and to various apologetics (Brooke, 1989), (Grainger, 1987)

(McLaren, 1986). Definitions also include qualities, traits, or facts dependent upon or varying with one another (Aslanian and Brickell, 1980) (Resnick, 1990), to be in action, which somewhat fits Friere's theories; and, to add further bewilderment, to mathematical terminology and quantitative analyses (Goffinet, 1987). It is significant that these definitions are mostly positive and may in some not-yet-defined way empower the participants.

It is posed that a functional literary definition must be integral with and derived from the dominant economic and social cultures (Anderson, 1991) (Rubin, 1990). These are socioeconomic frameworks within which subcultural groups and individuals must function--no matter if they conform, "drop out," protest, or work for revolutionary change (Apple, 1986) (Beder, 1989b) (Bloom, 1987) (Westbury and Purves, 1988). This is a forced choice for familial, social, or other relationships of the individual, whether in an urban or isolated rural environment (Burgess, 1971) (Fiske, 1991) (Gewertz, 1993). Any other cultural mode than that of the most dominant group(s) in any structure, whether national or local neighborhood, functions at the tolerance of the dominant cultural forces. (Apple, 1990) (Beder, 1989a). Too great deviations from the general culture can trigger violent reaction (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985) (Edgerton, 1992) (Ellis, 1993) (Flynn and Gerhardt, 1989) (Fromm, 1941) (Kevorkian, 1991) (Los Angeles Times Magazine, 1993) (Vigilante, 1993).

In most advanced cultures, alienation and functional illiteracy are probably pervasive (Cumming and Henry, 1961) (Fromm, 1955). The modern individual is far more specialized; therefore more isolated, and possibly alienated, in terms of skills, education and heritages (Inge, 1989) (Kindler, 1988) (Marshall, 1990) (Martindale and Drake, 1989) (Weil, 1952) (Williams 1989). A working definition of functional literacy is posed as:

> Sufficient mastery of reading and writing skills to communicate acceptably within the immediate cultural and socioeconomic group, whether or not the communication is in English; then mastery of the ability to read and write English, and to apply concepts and instructions necessary to function within the wider national cultural and socioeconomic groupings.

Acceptable functional literacy has been posed to mean attainment of academic grade levels between 5.0-8.9 (Salter and Salter, 1991). While grade 5.0-8.9 reading and writing levels can be relatively sophisticated, and permit mastery of most necessary economic documents--such as checks, rental agreements, employment and medical office forms; and such light reading as periodicals, newspapers, and popular fiction; ambiguities and "disconnects" appear.

The most obvious are lack of uniform, or generally agreed, levels of "by grade" competencies. While it may appear self-evident the 8.0 or 9.0 expectations of a parochial school, private academy, or magnet school, will generally require performances well above that tolerated in a school characterized by wide variations in behavior patterns, learning readiness, etc.; this may be more by default than by absence of similar specification in the public school (Banfield, 1958) (Shaw, 1993) (Wolfe, 1993). Further, while there may not be consensus in the literature,

ample input from teachers, administrators, parents and media, as well as student performance on standardized instruments; indicate widely varying quality of instruction and expectations for acceptable subject mastery (Applebee, Langer, and Mullis, 1987a) (Applebee, Langer, and Mullis, 1988) (Mullis, Dossey, and Phillips, 1991) (Mullis, Dossey, Foertsch, and Jones, 1992) (National Assessment of Eductional Programs, 1986); and tolerance of, or inabilities to cope with, subcultures with little motivation toward attainment of desired competencies (Apter, 1992) (Ardrey, 1966) (Venezky, Kaestle, and Sum, 1987).

Other factors that contribute to a growing state of functional illiteracy may include "social promotions" and competitive cultural factors in differing and not well understood intensities (Ogbu, 1987); as well as ever-present "hidden agendas" (McLaren, 1986) (Moll and Diaz, 1987) (Shor, 1987). While these may be issues that should be considered apart from literacy, their impact on literacy plans or programs cannot be ignored. The same may be true of research on biologically or sexually perceived differences that are felt to foster illiteracy. (Bushardt, Fretwel, and Holdnak, 1991) (Lane, McGuire, Yeannakis, and Wurzbacher, 1984). Results can be reactive; in one study a "true" reading performance of Grade 12 has been posed for American industry (Johnson, 1988). The problem, of course, is that "Grade 12" is not clearly defined, nor is "beyond Grade 12," specification of instruction. Nor is there consensus that "education" per se is needed; in fact, there are those who feel it is an overrated criteria for economic competitiveness (Shaw, 1993). This may reflect fundamental questioning of long held social values for education, since there is apparent, recurrent failure to bring the majority of the population to the state of literacy desired [by the literate].

These levels of performance and the level of functional literacy are considerations that have been items of concern in past years, generating a large amount of literature. Whether the sense of urgency and attention to functional literacy in the job place will continue in austere fiscal times is unclear. Economic pressures, business and industrial consolidations, downsizings, and closures; an employers' market for labor; and costs of other employee programs will certainly reduce budgets (Fingeret, 1990) (Kindler, 1988) (Shaw, 1993). There is insufficient literature on senior management specifications of desired education or functional skills training, either prior or subsequent to employment, to provide impetus for resource allocation; therefore research in this area could significantly augment planning and assist the implementation of functional literacy programs (Carnevale, Meltzer, and Gainer, 1989) (Cook and Godley, 1989) (Henderson, 1987) (Henderson, 1991).

If individuals affected by inadequate preparation--whether this is defined as competencies, life skills, or functional literacy--require no skills applications beyond their immediate group, or subculture, there may be no upward pressure for cultural assimilation (Resnik 1990). In California, communication could be in Hmong, Thai, Vietnamese, Spanish, or nearly two hundred other languages. In many instances, only a few spokespersons are necessary for effective representation or interface with the main culture. This will generally produce obstacles to changes; as empowering positions are threatened, the tendency will be for the power figures to attempt to protect their positions. There may be no hierarchial needs or incentives that encourage entry into the mainstream (Irish, 1980); the main culture may actually be perceived

as lacking in closely-held values (Beder, 1980), (Gans, 1961) (Hayes, 1988). Research has identified this disincentive in writing for role and social development (Giangreco, et al., 1990) (Levine, 1987). Other disincentives, with powerful peer pressures contribute, and both the individual and the overall group can reject the "obvious good" as an imposed instrument to maintain social stratification or status quo (Apple, 1985), (Apple, 1986), (Darling, 1981), (Eyster, 1982), (Friere, 1989) (Fultz, 1990) (Jones and Petry, 1980).

Although participation in functional literacy remediation may be successful, both the remediated and remediator may fall into a variety of cultural traps (Baum, 1992). These may include current social dialectics (Arnove and Graff, 1987) (Inglis, 1985) (Giroux, 1988) (Shor, 1987), faulty logic (Champagne and Young, 1980), or created and revisionist history--a Camelot of the soul and psyche (Bell, 1992) (Fultz, 1990). Dominant forces beyond control of either individuals or their subcultures may produce adverse climates for remediation (Goffinet, 1987), (Grainger, 1987), (Lind, 1981), (Oakes, 1985), (Ogbu, 1978). Review of the literature indicates these phenomena are not well integrated into strategic planning for literacy campaigns. (Arnove and Graff, 1987) (Evaluation and Training Institute, 1989).

Therefore factors impacting on literacy issues may be beyond experiences, and philosophies, or may be so alien to the comprehensions of the literacy tutor or program developer that denial results (Benseman, 1980) (Garcia and Pearson, 1990) (Urrea, 1992). They may be absolutely incorrect [to the would-be provider] (Darling, 1989), and often as not may surface hidden agendas that combine to render programs neither financially nor politically feasible (Beder, 1989a). There can be little doubt such are powerful contributors to failure of literacy campaigns (Azrab, 1985), (Beder and Valentine, 1987), (Goffinet, 1987) (Goffinet and Van Damme, 1990) (Michigan State Board of Education, 1985) (Quaisrani and Khawaja, 1989) (Quigley, 1989). This may occur despite generous funding and allocation of resources (Kinsley, 1993).

Subcultures and their means of communication may also represent a perceived threat to national cohesiveness and to the dominant socioeconomic structures (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985) (Beder, 1989b) (Beder, 1991) (Cressy, 1980) (McNeil, 1986). The validity of these perceptions is less important than what may result--suspicion, apprehension, and vigorous efforts to either suppress the culture, and language of communication, or to develop bimodality, by which the dominant culture slowly replaces the subgroup language or culture, or absorbs salient features (Fradejas-Campano, 1987) (Lankshear and Lawler, 1987) (Stevens, 1988). Such efforts can be persuasive or punitive in nature, as in prohibitions on communications in the language of the subculture (Reyhner, 1992) (Trennert, 1988). These appear to be common strategies throughout the world. In times of cultural unrest, socioeconomic uncertainties and other disruptions, reaction from the dominant culture can produce appalling or draconian measures. Therefore, it is posed that the primary "function" of "functional literacy" is assimilation rather than upgrade of the participants (Boggs, Buss, and Yarnell, 1979) (Giroux, 1988) (Silvanik, 1991). Contemporary examples include efforts to assimilate a minority Gypsy population in Spain (Cebrian-Abellan, 1987), to effect change in Latin America (Van Vught, 1991), and in Africa (Arnove and Graff, 1987), etc. It should be no surprise that fluency in a Native American

tongue is not a general prerequisite for Bureau of Indian Affairs employment; or that fluency in the old cultural language be perceived as undesirable for rather large subcultures. Numerous other culturally driven motivators based on power can also found in the literature (Luke, 1988) (Simon and Willinsky, 1980) (Turrittin, 1989).

Changes invariably occur in individual relationships to the "old" culture (Chalom, 1985). With internalized and externalized successes, assimilation processes can proceed rapidly, evidenced by loss of "mother tongues" in one or two generations. For the most part, second or third generation members desire this. However, should expectations of the subcultural group not be met, accommodation without acceptance, disaffiliation, or recidivism can be anticipated. This may include substitutive practice, militancy, intolerance, and other expressions. These can weaken or imperil the dominant framework of social authority and control--or trigger preemptive action to maintain the status quo. This process can be exacerbated by failure of the dominant culture or socioeconomic and political power bases to acknowledge problems exist that defy short-term solutions (Bloom, 1987), (Yeakey, 1990); or to effectively create the illusion that long-range solutions are being implemented through publicity, announced campaigns to abolish illiteracy, and other strategies when in fact little is accomplished (Adult Literacy Initiative, 1986) (Appalachian Adult Education Center, 1973) (Boggs, Buss, and Yarnell, 1979) (Michigan State Board of Education, 1985), when in fact little is accomplished.

Whether accommodations to proliferation of languages and desire to preserve the communicative aspects of heritages can be made remains to be determined (Gaber-Katz and Watson, 1991) (Quigley, 1990) (Walsh, 1991). This is probably as much a factor of economic conditions, as any cultural or theoretical considerations (Anderson and Kasl, 1982) (Barone, 1993). The world view is not particularly optimistic, nor is any great level of success posed for national programs in times of economic uncertainties and pressure for national cohesiveness (Arnove and Graff, 1987) (Shaw, 1993) (Yeakey, 1990).

Difficulties in establishing clear definitions for literacy, functional literacy, or other created definitions such as "cultural," "computer," and other descriptors which wrap literacy into their nomenclature, are compounded by diversities and conflicts in research and statistical data. Although the same topic, group, or situation may be examined, polarity rather than consensus is not unusual. Such conflicts seem to increase in proportion to the uncertainties of the topic, with the human condition the most unpredictable of all. Numerous examples of research data that can obscure or hinder new approaches to dealing with functional illiteracy exist; three that are generally known to most educators and administrators are posed:

First, Abram Maslow set out theories that needs satisfaction progressed in hierarchial stages from basic survival considerations to ascetics. In short, that as individuals satisfied their lower needs they would move to more advanced needs satisfaction. These theories can be considered to be amplifications, refinements or logical progression of writings of early leaders in industrial management, some of which enjoy current vogue (Babcock, 1972) (Blake and Mouton, 1964) (Emerson, 1974) (Gantt, 1974) (Gilbreth, 1973) (Henderson, 1981a) (Taylor, 1911). Maslow's theories gained respected adherents and a body of literature (Levinson, 1973) (McGregor, 1960).

Maslow and his adherents make excellent cases; however, their theories do not always correlate with historic, repetitive patterns of human behavior (Bossard and Boll, 1950). They offer no ready explanation for such contradictions as ascetic tenets of major religions or cultures; individual self-sacrifice for friends or common cause; and other apparently illogical acts such as school support despite loss of expectations, or schools in concentration camps (Ehrenrich, 1989) (Levin, 1974). Therefore Maslowian theory must be approached with caution as applicable in campaigns against illiteracy, for self-actualization or even self-improvement appear considerably higher on the hierarchial scales than the needs status of entering participants would indicate. It could be equally argued that such participants have internalized so they are ready; and to explain fervor of those helped to "spread the message."

Second, some of Bloom's theories may be posed as representative of popular intellectual determinism which presents as the "good" for all society a particular set of [usually] elitist values. These have had widespread support since Plato (Cressy, 1980) (Chisman, 1990) (Kozol, 1985). These should also be suspect in remediating illiteracy, for what is a good for one cultural group in terms of "must" do, know, act, etc., may be totally out of consonance with the subculture of the functionally illiterate (Fultz 1990). Either mechanistic or specific approaches to the "common good", and arbitrary selection of blocks of knowledge, may discourage beneficial changes in instructional techniques or subject matter. Their research is certainly useful, but more to identify certain populations of "non-possessors" rather than programs to reduce their numbers. Such research may be said to represent the cultural status quo, or establishment posit; but should be balanced against contrarian reports, of similar proliferation and [sometimes] shrillness (Cressy, 1980) (Darling, 1989) (Fingeret, 1984) (Friere, 1985) (Haidara, 1990) (Williams, 1985). That neither Bloom nor those opposed have arrived at synthesis is illustrated by the stubbornly persistent levels of actual and functional illiteracy in comparable cultures. Somehow these processes advocated as thesis or antithesis have been unsuccessful in at least a fifth, and possibly up to one half, of the world's population. This should be cause for reflection and rethinking of philosophies and methodologies (Arnove and Graff, 1987).

A final example with continuing impact on education and literacy is taken from theories developed by an individual with no initial background in education; a trend that seems universally present. Piaget's research set out theories that progress occurs in a mechanistic fashion--from sensori-motor level perceptions to preoperational thought, to concrete operations, and finally to levels of formal operations (Piaget, 1952) (Piaget, 1954) (Piaget, 1969) (Piaget and Inhelder, 1969). The logic is seductive, is apparently sound, and is accepted and taught in modern texts, with little apparent effort to replicate or validate. A decade ago, aspects of Piagetian theory began to bother the author, as being too mechanistic and programmed to explain the infinite variations of child behavior or learning (Boucouvalas and Krupp, 1989) (Henderson, 1981b) (Henderson, 1982); if correct, calling in question heavy remediation expenditures on individuals who failed to achieve concrete operational status by adulthood. A literature review was conducted, and a number of the reports indicated inability to replicate Piagetian findings. Replication was then attempted with two samples, and findings were that, for the most part,

Piagetian experiments did not appear to replicate (Henderson 1981b). Additional research indicated a flawed sample was probably a primary source of the early works (Henderson, 1982).

These examples illustrate need to apply skepticism to published research, to determine relationships between researcher and disciples who serve as replicators, to seek for other replications, to question things that appear out of consonance with personal professional observations; and, in cases where doubt remains, to replicate experiments, if time and resources permit. Properly designed and reported, such results contribute to the literature, and healthy synthesis can be developed from such efforts. In addition to research reports, statistical data, though very useful when the research procedures and controls involved in its assembly are available for analysis, may be suspect. It may be skewed to support causes, set out personal agendas, or be produced for reasons divorced from scholarly research. Research bias and skewed data are ever-present dangers that can be compensated for, and in many cases detected, when inclusion is inadvertent. Deliberate skewing or casual research control may be rather more difficult to detect (Culliton, 1987) (Marshall, 1986) (Patterson and Kim, 1992) . It is also possible that the researcher may quite sincerely obtain and use data from second or third-removed sources, in which interim skewing or manipulation has occurred, without detecting dichotomies. The following may serve as examples, without any citation or criticism of those who prepared the reports:

> An estimated 25 million Americans are functionally illiterate.
>
> In 1980 the US had an illiteracy rate of 15-20%
>
> The illiteracy rate for Latin America is 20.2%; world illiteracy is 28.6% The illiteracy rate for Africa is 60.3%; for Asia 37.4%.

There are obvious flaws, e.g.; reported U.S. illiteracy approaching the reported level of functional illiteracy; world rates that do not correlate, etc. Further research may be necessary to balance data more realistically. Other statements may also be suspect:

> Schools graduate .7 million functionally illiterate each year and another .7 million drop out; Black students never catch up even in college.
>
> As many as one in five in Canada are illiterate.
>
> Sweden reported from 0-4% illiteracy from 1850 on.
>
> The Cuban literacy campaign (under Castro) reduced illiteracy to 3.9%
>
> (Only) about 46% of the U.S. population are fully functioning literates.

From these examples, the position is made that at least a portion of the literature on education, psychology, literacy, etc.; may be based on simplistically accepted data. If findings are published, the data and conclusions "must" be accurate; if programs produce success in "a" time, place, and cultural profile, such programs "must" produce similar results when imported to local campaigns. There may also be willingness to accept flawed data with no objective validation, if conformable to personal or corporate agendas. While this could be harmless enough on an individual basis, there is too-frequent incorporation and utilization for programs before replication or analysis is conducted. In programs directly involving the human condition, this can be tragic.

The target populations, procedures, participation, results, and general overview of the literature on various literacy campaigns mentioned throughout the world reveal commonalities (Arnove and Graff, 1987) (Anderson, 1991) (Association for Community Based Education, 1986) (Azrab, 1985) (Beder, 1989b) (Boraks, 1981) (Davidson, 1990) (Fleming, 1982) (Goffinet and Van Damme, 1990) (Graff, 1987) (Grainger, 1987) (Haidara, 1990) (Harman and Harman, 1979) (Lind, 1981) (Quaisrani and Khawaja, 1989). These include factors such as poverty, though there is by no means a consensus that economic conditions constitute the sole or even necessarily the primary determinant of either illiteracy or functional illiteracy (Auerbach, 1989) (Fingeret, 1984) (Kennedy, 1989) (Knapp, 1991) (Knapp and Turnbull, 1990) (Kozol, 1991) (Trattner, 1989).

Race is stereotypically cited, but, while curriculum may be biased toward a dominant culture, it is far from established or accepted that race, or specific ethnicity, is the primary determinant (Archdeacon, 1983) (Azrab, 1985) (Barone, 1993) (Bell, 1992) (Bohnaker, 1990) (D'Souza, 1991) (Frazier, 1965) (Hacker, 1992) (Sherwood, 1980). It is, however, both comfortable and convenient to ignore persistent levels of illiteracy or functional illiteracy by transferring upward or downward blame for the condition. This phenomena occurs world wide and only requires a target population.

Economics and social class are posed as strong factors in literacy or functional illiteracy; however, the literature is equally mixed in opinion, from Marxist to conservative belief, and various cultural, social, or nationalistic theories are championed (Rachal, 1990) (Simmel, 1964). While it would seem obvious that children or adults of affluence would have far higher literacy standards, this is not necessarily proven by research. (Aggarwal, 1989) (Apple, 1986) (Apple, 1988) (Barber, 1957) (Beresford, 1990) (Birmingham, 1984) (Breiger, 1990) (Buford, 1992) (Dahrendorf, 1966). Research shows high levels of illiteracy among upper class individuals, yet no apparent loss of status, capital or power (Beresford, 1990) (Birmingham, 1973) (Birmingham, 1968). Research equally shows middle class panic over economic conditions, but no abandonment of schooling, or apparent drop in literacy (Lash, 1979) (Lipset and Bendix, 1964) (Newman, 1988) (Parker, 1972) (Rossi, 1989) (Shapiro, 1992).

Factors of peer pressure are acknowledged by researchers. A group or culture that is negative toward literacy posed by the dominant culture is usually characterized as lacking desire for assimilation (Campbell, 1984) (Cohen, 1955) (Drucker, 1969) (Durkheim, 1956) (Trueba,

Jacobs, and Kirton, 1990). What is not clear is the degree to which this adolescent and young adult phenomena continues throughout life (Friedenberg, 1959) (Inge, 1989) (Lefkowitz, 1986) (Tiger, 1969). There is also evidence that life-stage development is more complex than might at first appear, and, while linked more to psychological and physiological changes, may play a role in the effectiveness of literacy campaigns. If, in fact, there are separate and distinct states of development and life, it could well be posed that differentiations in learning readiness, rates, or styles may be of longer spans than conventionally accepted (Cumming and Henry, 1961) (Harris, 1981) (Johnstone and Rivera, 1965) (Lowenthal, 1976) (Maas and Kuypers, 1974) (McGill, 1980) (Mitchell, 1983) (Pressey and Kuhlen, 1957) (Sears and Feldman, 1973) (Sheehy, 1976) and many others.

When these factors are combined, researchers are left with one overall fact. Of the number of illiterate or functionally illiterate individuals within a culture, when factors of economics, national development, race, sex or ethnicity, or other impacts are adjusted; the rates of illiteracy and functional illiteracy appear stable throughout societies at equivalent levels of development. In the case of developed nations, the target populations are about .5-5% illiterate, and 20-30% functionally illiterate. Higher level literacy appears to reside mainly in about 30 percent of the national samples, with the remainder falling between the extremes. This provides significant challenges to identify, reach, and motivate the majority of functionally illiterates in national populations, much less those who are readily identifiable by reasons of poverty, unemployment or other stereotypical categorization (Appalachian Adult Education Center, 1973) (Brizius and Foster, 1987) (Cibulka, Reed, and Wong, 1992) (Cohen, 1955) (Delamont, 1992) (Delgado-Gaitan and Trueba, 1991).

In the State of California, the primary campaign began in September 1983, with receipt of $2.5 million in Federal Library Services and Construction Act (LSCA) funds (Lane, McGuire, Yeannakis, and Wurzbacher, 1984). A short suspense was imposed for proposals on utilization. The State Librarian chose to mount a campaign on state illiteracy, which had been, and continues to be, identified as a serious challenge (Solorzano, Stecher, and Perez, 1989).

For the 1984 effort, 27 projects were funded, and analysis of student participant statistics resulted in significant profiles:

> Male/female mix was very close; 49% male, 51% female.
>
> Employment status was roughly equal; when retirement and other factors were considered.
>
> More were married than not; 61% to 39%; BUT there were an equal number of primary wage earners enrolled.
>
> Of those receiving public assistance, 10% were on some form of Social Security or welfare, and 8% were AFDC. Another 6% were

on disability. The remainder, one percent per group, were either receiving VA benefits, job training, or rent supplement.

Ages were concentrated in the 20s, at 28%; and 30s, with 45%. Another 20% ranged from 40 to 55 years old. Other ages were not significant.Most participants learned of remediation through television (25%), family (13%), the library (11%) or a friend (11%). Other media were not particularly influential.

Attitudes toward materials and tutors were excellent to good, at 98%; and 94% felt they were helped, with another 5% having just started remediation.

Only 5% cited survival or work as a reason for taking remedial work; the strongest motivator was general reading improvement (46%) followed by personal reading goals (22%), and 19% could be discounted as just having started. When respondents had completed some level of remediation, confidence grew, and job-related or self improvement grew (21%, and 6% respectively). General goals dropped to 24% while personal was about the same at 21%.

Characteristics of tutors was equally interesting; only 9% were male; most were married (56%); were employed (49%) or retired (32%), and only 9% reported not being employed at something, and 47% were the primary wage earner. Only 6% lacked some level of college, and the skew was toward age; with 30% above 63 and 45% between 36-62 with fairly uniform age breaks. Tutors were predominantly white (84%), generally considered to be professionals--teachers (21%), other professional (28%), business (16%) or skilled labor (22%). Very few were homemakers (9%), or students (1%). A fair number were artists (3%), representing a disproportional number of those employed.

Income for most would have been considered lower middle to middle class (85%).

Tutors were recruited by newspaper (40%), library (21%), or television (12%), indicating predisposition to a group or readers, and all but 18% had received reasonable amounts of tutor training.

The overall distribution does not appear markedly different nearly a decade later; of 10,839 tutors instructing at the end of 1992, 79% were White, 7% Black, and 6% Hispanic. Age distribution was roughly equivalent. Male participation had grown to 22% (Lane, McGuire,

Yeannakis, and Wurzbacher, 1984). In San Bernardino County, ethnic distribution was predominantly White, followed by roughly 24% total Black and Hispanic, with almost the same number participating. State learner demographics were roughly 35% White, 30% Hispanic, and 18% Black, still relatively close to distributions of a decade earlier. (Literacy Volunteers of America, 1990). Native American and Pacific Islander representation remained minuscule, despite known populations of both ethnicities; e.g., several Indian tribe reservations in the state. For example, in Riverside County, with a large Native American population only one individual was enrolled; in San Bernardino County, there were 31 (California Library Literacy Service, 1993). Data assembled in 1987 by SRA Associates (Dixon, Vargo, and Campbell, 1987) indicated heaviest program use, as a factor of population, to be Hispanic with 51%; Asian, at 25%; White at 19%; and Black at 5%. These figures have not been updated by a similar study, but are probably still close for 1993.

Within these parameters, the campaign to abolish illiteracy in the Mojave Desert centers in three separate campaigns, each with similar motives, but differing approaches (Henderson, 1993b). The largest effort has been that of the Basic Skills Education Program of the military. Of these, the largest program began in 1980, at the Marine Corps Air Ground Combat Center, located in the East sector of the Mojave Desert in San Bernardino County. The program was in response to needs identified at the Marine Corps Communication Electronics Schools. With some 47 separate courses involved, and with increasingly sophisticated electronics and other equipment; proficiency levels of up to the second year of college were required in mathematical areas, in electronics concepts, and in abilities to comprehend and communicate verbally and in writing .Henderson, 1979). This was exacerbated by education levels of assigned personnel; non-high-school graduates constituted about 30% of the service population. Attrition or dropout rates in some courses approached 50% (Henderson, 1992b). An initial program was developed in coordination with the Copper Mountain Campus of the College of the Desert. Personnel were screened for computational and communicative competencies, then given up to 52 hours of instruction in math, English and writing skills. With this background, students of the MACES experienced far less course difficulties, and attrition levels were reduced to approximately seven percent. Student flow through BSEP varied from 3,000 to 6,000 per year from inception until phase downs after the DESERT STORM operations in South West Asia. Cumulative enrollments in Basic Skills Education Program courses through the end of fiscal year 1990 totaled 46,127; with an additional 2,131 military, dependent or community personnel completing requirements for their high school diploma (College of the Desert, 1990) (College of the Desert Developmental Education, 1990) (Copper Mountain Campus, 1988). Through 1992, enrollments were averaging about 400 per month, until RESTORE HOPE deployments to Somalia resulted in slight reduction. For the period ended Fiscal Year 1992, there were 4,047 enrollments in basic literacy or mathematics remediation courses, as well as 481 enrollments in high school completion (Gibson, 1992). The latter reflects the open campus policy of the college provider and the Marine Corps, enabling dependent and other civilian enrollments in high school completion courses, which are provided at no charge to attenders or the military. By reference, state literacy programs enrolled 25,181 adult learners for their 1991/1992 fiscal year, which reflected excellent growth of 34.8% over 1991 (California Library Literacy Service, 1993) (California Literacy Campaign, 1993) (Henderson, 1993c).

An additional benefit of this program was the participation of other military organizations at the Combat Center. These are generally units with heavy field maneuver, or overseas deployment, tasking, and represent not more than five to six percent of the usual student enrollment. However, this still has averaged from 200-300 students annually, and will probably be increasing as military forces are reduced. There are several driving causes.

First, while military forces should represent a cross section of social, economic, ethnic, etc. groups in the nation, the reality is they do not, nor are they likely to, in the absence of universal national or military service. Requirements for enlistment, selection for training, or for career retention, may be set at extremely high levels; for example the U.S. Navy accepted one of thirty-two applicants during the Great Depression, and enlistment today is more difficult than might be imagined. While this has resulted in an essentially high school graduate population; even higher levels of sophistication of equipment, and societal demands on the military individual, require increasing levels of proficiencies. This conflicts with egalitarian concepts as to access and will require intensive attention to actual and functional literacy if expectations of diversity are to be met.

Since the BSEP provider was initially, and has remained, a state community college, any facilities or relevant noncontractual programs are also open to local area residents. Although non-high-school graduates now represent less than .5% of the military population, this group is still very vigorously encouraged to enroll and complete high school studies. They cannot reenlist unless they attain either a high school diploma or GED; additionally they are not eligible for Veterans' Administration educational benefits unless they earn a high school diploma. Most enroll, as do a large number of dependents, and so do local community personnel too old for continuing high school.

In 1992, open-end enrollments were curtailed by a requirement to contract military education services in the Basic Skills Education Program; for the most part divorcing the community programs from the military training facilities. The contracting resulted in relocation of the majority of community service programs to the college campus some 20 miles away, although limited capability was retained. Whether overall enrollments will reduce as a direct result of these realignments cannot be stated, since other factors exist. The commuting distance from the local community areas is approximately the same, to a more modern, ascetically pleasing college facility, as it was to a converted military barracks. Also, the State of California is undergoing painful fiscal reductions due to economic conditions; and major restructuring of state programs, unparalleled since the Great Depression, is in progress. These impacts on literacy or adult education programs have yet to be analyzed.

An additional facilitating program for installation literacy occurred prior to the DESERT SHIELD/DESERT STORM operations and has continued into the RESTORE HOPE operations in Somalia. In 1988, the Center Education Office, in consultation with the installation librarian refined a program of "watch the book, then read the book" which had been under discussion for some time (Henderson, 1988b). The Marine Corps director of education programs at the time was Dr. Sydell Wyess, a long-time adult educator and advocate of innovative approaches to

literacy education. She authorized acquisition of hard copy, video, and support materials to enhance a variety of performance and knowledge skills, specialized military knowledge, family literacy, and varying levels of literacy augmentation; apart from the more restrictive Basic Skills Education Program (Henderson, 1988a).

Videos and hard copy ranged from very basic works; e.g., Once Upon a Potty, The Velveteen Rabbit, Charlotte's Web; to advanced literary works from classic to modern authors; these were placed in the library, and other job-related materials were placed in units. In this manner, non-threatening access to all levels of literary competencies could be provided, with hard copy works available for demand reading should they be desired. Judicious use of remainder lists and special video sources kept costs down. This has proven very popular; for example, Shakespearian plays are especially in demand. An unexpected spinoff occurred during the deployments, as families would check out videos, or accompany children to story telling sessions and leave with hard copies; over 17,000 video circulations occurred during the first twelve months of DESERT STORM operations, and the trend appears to be continued growth of video circulation. While there are arguments pro and con on the merits of television, this media use represents a method of assuring exposure to heritages of literature, despite the literacy level of viewers (Henderson, 1989a) (Henderson, 1989b).

The second program is the Early Literacy Intervention Program being phased in by the Morongo Unified School District. District boundaries encompass about 3,000 square miles of sparsely populated desert, and children from a variety of educational and culturally deprived levels enter school. Remote areas, for example have poor to no television reception, may have no utilities, and may be almost 100 miles from the school. From a recently implemented, test preschool program, and a K-12 program being phased in by increments, teaching staff and administrators identify children with basic literacy skills difficulties. Each school, and to a large degree each teacher, has wide latitudes in determining best approaches in terms of time of day, bloc content, etc. The norm is at least a 30 minute bloc each day, on an individualized basis or small group interaction (Henderson, 1993a).

When possible, parental cooperation is obtained, to the extent parents may serve as instructional aides, augmenting the classroom instructor; and in some instances developing greater literacy competencies in a non-threatening environment. This is expected to be a significant advantage with the Charter School concept, to be implemented in California on a test basis in 1993. Under this concept, schools will function semi-independently of their parent district. Funds are allocated to the specific school, which, in effect, becomes a district of one, though the District maintains accounting support and provides advisory roles. A committee of school administrators, teachers, and school-region parents determine local school policies to include staffing, funds allocation, etc. One hundred sites were authorized state-wide for 1993, with one in the Morongo Unified School District. Some precedence has existed for this management move in the District, with special parental committees, and with a parent-teacher-administrator committee functioning to recommend budgetary items. There appears little doubt the concept will succeed, if initial acceptance and enthusiasm evidenced by the school and

community can be guarantors. Exactly how this will augment already existing Early Literacy Intervention efforts remains to be determined.

The final program, and one that reaches populations that neither the military, college, nor public school programs serve, is the Morongo Basin Coalition for Adult Literacy. This program developed from the efforts by the California State Library, begun in late 1983. In 1984, four San Bernardino County Branch Libraries, at Barstow, Chino, Yucaipa and Twentynine Palms were selected as sites for literacy training centers. This represented a roughly 50-50 mix between isolated desert communities and semi-urban sites closer to the metropolitan area (Henderson, 1984). For reference, a cross-county drive exceeds 200 miles West-East, and may be well over half that distance South-North, over some of the most inhospitable mountain and desert terrain imaginable (Henderson, 1992c).

A site supervisor was appointed for each location, and in February 1984 a training team from Alaska conducted training for staff and volunteers. By late March 1984 tutors had met with the first students. As the program settled in, need for a more formal organization became evident in Twentynine Palms, where already-heavy library use resulted in heavy workloads on the library staff. A new site supervisor invited a consortium of students, tutors, and community representatives, including the Marine Corps installation, to form a nonprofit corporation. Due to regulatory concerns, the military role remained advisory, with two individuals, the Center Education Officer, and the Deputy Director of Personnel appointed as representatives.

In late 1985, the Morongo Basin Coalition for Adult Literacy was formed as a nonprofit corporation. The first and continuing Chairman was a management analyst with extensive experience in volunteer literacy programs. Information available to the Chairman indicated some 300 adults have been taught to read; best statistics available to the Site Supervisor indicate a total student population of 386, since April 1984. Given demographics of the area, this could well reflect 300 actual illiteracy remediations (Henderson, 1992a). This would indicate about 50 students per year are enrolling, which is probably accurate, based on 50 new students enrolled 1 January-9 November 1992. There were 47 tutors currently available, and there were 47 current students at the time of the report (The MBCAL Newsletter, 1992). While numbers may not seem large, they are remarkable for the geographic region involved, and compare favorably with programs that have received far more exposure and recognition (Time Warner Inc. Literacy Program , 1990). Terrain and climate must be experienced, for it cannot be adequately described. The region is wreaked by violent storms, flash floods, sandstorms, and summer temperatures which are referred to as the "100-100s", or 100 or more days per year with temperatures above 100 degrees; at the Amboy site such temperatures may routinely exceed 140 degrees (Holbert, 1993).

Poverty and welfare are endemic, with estimates as high as 72% of the non-military, non-retiree population receiving some form of public assistance (Henderson, 1993d) (Davidson, 1990). With the exception of the military installation, and incorporated areas, law enforcement is spread extremely thin (Skogan, 1990); and horrors difficult to imagine are imported (Woodhull, 1992). Law enforcement may in fact be removed from the isolated desert areas, with

results that can easily be forecast. Except for one interstate highway a hundred miles North and another about fifty miles to the South of Twentynine Palms, and the paved state and county roads, travel is on sand roads carved through the terrain. In isolated areas, water must be delivered, and some areas are the domain of the fittest; including those engaged in illegal activities, cultists, survivalists, "welfare dumps," recluses, and others of strong and independent opinion. Illiteracy--not functional illiteracy--is estimated at 20% of the inhabitants.

Given these situations, the work by Coalition volunteers, and their acceptance in the various communities, is testimony to dedication and desire of individuals for literacy and communication, and no small courage on the part of tutors. An outstanding mix of military, community college, local school district, volunteer organizations, the California State Library, and the San Bernardino County Libraries are also responsible. Program structure, curricula, tutors, and enrolled students vary according to specific populations served, and cross-feed and cross-flow can exist between each program. However, central issues of illiteracy and functional illiteracy remain to pose challenges; to be solved by dedicated professionals (Wilson, 1987).

First, there is no clear grasp of what illiteracy and functional illiteracy really are (DiPerna, 1982). Until a true working definition appropriate to local needs is developed, planning and implementation of effective programs remain quite challenging (Darkenwald, 1986) (Sowell, 1992). Further, the agreed professional definition must accommodate the political forces within the culture, a situation that may neither please nor satisfy any (Cole and Glass, 1977).

Second, true illiterates are not being reached...nor are the majority of the functionally illiterate. Statistics from California alone reveal this...it would take require ten lifetimes at current enrollment levels just to reach the current state population. For whatever reasons or influence there is disengagement or alienation (Grant, 1992) (Harrison, 1992) (Hawkins, 1990) (Jencks, 1979).

Third, it must be realized that literacy campaigns are facilitating and evolutionary, not reforming or revolutionary (Bhola, 1990) (Davies, 1974) (Delgado-Gaitan, 1990) (Grundy, 1987). The problem of illiteracy or functional illiteracy is one that is passed to the literacy programs by societal, educational and possibly biological factors over which there is not, has not been, nor likely will be, much control. Since the culture has already been unsuccessful in efforts to produce literacy through the schools, it is scarcely realistic to expect miraculous peformances from the literacy campaigns. Over enthusiastic and unrealistic expectations can result, and lead to burnout, as literacy program staff and volunteers experience frustration in recruiting, retaining, and eventually developing the literacy skills of students. It can also be a guilt-producing experience, as personal skills, societal attitudes or even the whole national infrastructure are called into question (Chancellor, 1990). Perspective is needed, that not all will be recruited, nor will all recruited necessarily be helped (Berne, 1964).

Finally, literacy efforts and programs are faced with the great unlearned--and this does not refer to students--at least in the traditional definition of what constitutes literacy and the methodology or pedagogy of its development. A blunt question needs to be asked...is this

population educateable [since it has not been] or is it merely uneducatable given current approaches? This is not a known answer, but functionally handicapped individuals that constitute a fifth of the world population, and those who lack full skills, adding an additional fifty percent; would certainly indicate that significant psychosocial and physiological research and breakthrough is needed. This is not a state, regional, or national problem; it is a universal condition (Weber, 1964) (Vickers, 1968). Therefore, the challenge is to find a method [one suspects many may eventually be developed] by which this population begins progression toward literacy and becomes functional in its varied subcultures.

Obviously effective methods do not currently exist, for if a population under penalties of death still cannot learn, as was true under Stalin and may still be true in Iraq; then methodology is lacking. The fault lies with no educational institution, governmental structure, race, creed, sex or age; for it appears far more fundamental factors are involved. The challenge of identification and the future of capabilities- and attributes-based remediation lies ahead.

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